AUSTRIA.

PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION.

LONDON, Dec. 24, 1860. The revolution in Austria gets along at a racing pace. Only two months ago, Francis Joseph acknowledged by his diploma of the 20th October, that his empire was in a state of revo betien, and tried to remedy it by bribing Hungary by a promise that her ancient Constitution me curtailed shape or other, was to be re stored. The diploma, although a concession to the revolutionary movement, was in its conception one of those master-strokes of treacherous policy which form such a prominent part in Austrian diplomacy. Hungary was to be bought by concessions apparently very great, and made to appear still greater by being placed side by side with the scanty allowance allotted to the German and Slavonic provinces, as well as with the mockery of an imperial Parliament which the diploma proposed to establish. But in the details of the work the cloven foot of treachery was apparent enough to turn the contemplated masterstroke into a piece of egregious folly and a pledge green to the revolutionary movement of the helples weakness of the Government. Not only was the seting of supplies and soldiers to be taken from the Hungarian diet and to be transferred to the Central Parliament and partly even to the Emperor aloneas if a Government just compelled to eat all the po litical leck it had grown during the last ten years was still strong enough to withhold such rights from its very conquerors-but the scanty and vague naure of the rights conferred on the other portions of the empire and on the central representation at nce proved, by contrast, the insincerity of the whole affair. And when the provincial constitutions or Styria, Car ... Salzburg, and Tyrol were published-constitutions giving the lion's share of representation to the nobility and clergy, and mainaining the old distinction of estates-when the old Ministry remained in office, there could be no longer any doubt as to what was intended. Hungary was to be soothed, and then to be made the catspaw to help absolutist Austria out of her troubles; and absolutist Austria once strong again, Hungary knew well enough from experience what her fate would be. The very fact of the unlimited and indiscrimmate establishment of the Hungarian language a the only official language in Hungary, was intended for nothing else but to excite the Siavenians. Roumans, and Germans of Hungary against the Magyar race. The Hungarian old Conservatives (vulgo Aristocrats), who had concluded this bargain with the Emperor, lost all standing at home by it; they had attempted to barter away the two most essential rights of the Diet. In fact, the Imperial diploma deceived nobody. While in the German provinces public opinion at once compelled the old municipal councils (appointed by the Emperor after the Rev. olution) to give way before new men, who are now being chosen by popular election, the Hungarians began to reëstablish their old county officers and county assemblies which, before 1849, formed all the local authorities in the country. In either case, is is a good sign that the opposition party at once se-cured local and communal power, instead of merely clamoring for an ephemeral change of Ministry and neglecting to secure the important positions left open to it in more modest spheres of action. In Hungary, the forms of the ancient local administration, as reorganized in 1848, at once placed all the civil power in the hands of the people, and left to the Vienna Government no other alternative but to cede or to have recourse at once to military force. Here, then, the movement naturally went on most rapidly. The demand for the full restoration of the Constitution, as amended in 1848, and including the Constitution, as amended in 1848, and including all the laws agreed upon in that year between the Diet and the King, arose from one end of the land to the other. Not satisfied with that, the immediate repeal of the tobacco monopoly (introduced illegally since 1848), and of all other laws imposed without the consent of the Diet, was asked for. The levying of taxes was openly declared illegal, until the Diet should have voted them; not one-third of the taxes due were paid; the young mercalled of the taxes due were paid; the young men called out to serve in the army were called upon to resist enrolment, or to abscend; the Imperial eagles were pulled down, and worst of all in the calles were wn, and, worst of all, in this transition state the Government had no means to resist this agitation. Wherever the County Assemblies were convoked they pronounced themselves unanimously in this sense; and the Conference of Hungarian notables assembled at Grau, under the Presidency of the Primate of Hungary, in order to propose to the Government a basis for the election of a Diet, with-

That was more than the old Conservatives had expected when they made the compromise with the Emperor. They were completely "debordés." The revolutionary waves threatened to drown them.

out deliberation almost, and unanimously, declared the democratic electoral law of 1848 to be still in

The Government itself saw that something must be done. But what could the Cabinet of Vienna do The attempt at bribing Hungary was on the eve The attempt at bribing Hungary was on the eve of signally falling. What, if the Cabinet now tried to bribe the Germans? They never enjoyed such rights as the Hungarians, perhaps less would satisfy them. The Austrian monarchy, to exist, must use the various nationalities among its subjects in turns against each other. The Slavonians could be used in the utmost extremity only; they were too much connected with Russia by Panslavist agitation; be it then for the Germans. Count Goluchowski, the hated Polish aristocrat (a renegade from the Polish extract that of Austrian service) was sacrificed. and Chevalier von Schmerling was made Minister of the Interior. He had been Minister of the German ephemeral empire in 1848, and afterward of Austria; this post he quitted when the Constitution of 1849 was definitively abolished. He passed for a Constitutionalist. But there was, again, so much hesistitutionalist. But there was, again, so much hesi-tation and indecision before he was definitively called in, that the effect was again lost. People asked what good was Schmerling if all the other asked what good was Schmerling if all the other ministers remained? There was a cooling down of all hopes, even before he was definitively appointed; and instead of a frank concession, his nomination only appeared as another proof of weakness. But while in the German Provinces the opposition was satisfied with securing local power, and receiving every move of the Government with undisguised distrust, and dissatisfaction, in Hungary the movement went on. Before even Schnerling had been nominated, the old Conservative Hungarians called lete office. Specaen and Vay at their head

ment went on. Before even Schmerling had been nominated, the old Conservative Hungarians called late office, Szecsen and Vay at their head, acknowledged the impossibility of retaining their positions; and the Ministry of the Emperor had to undergo the humiliation of inviting two Hungarian Ministers of 1848, colleagues up to Autumn of that year of Batthyanyi, who was shot, of Kossuth and Szmere—of inviting Messus. Deak and Eötvös, to enter the Ministry of the man who had trodden down Hungary with Russian assistance. They are not appointed yet; the system of hesitation and vacillation, of higgling and haggling about trifles, is in its full glory yet, but if they accept, they are sure to be ultimately appointed.

Thus Francis Joseph is being driven from one concession to another, and if it should come to pass that in January the two Diets should meet, one at Pesth for Hungary, and her annexes, and the other at Vienna for the remaining provinces of the Empire, fresh concessions will be wrung from him. But instead of reconciling his subjects, every fresh concession will exasperate them more by the undiagnized insincerity with which it is given. And what with the reminiscences of the past—with the maneuvers of the Hungarian emigration in the pay of Louis Napoleon; with the fact that a liberal Austria is impossible, because Austria's foreign policy must always be reactionary, and, therefore, at once create collisions between the Grown and the Partiament, and with Louis Napoleon speculating upon this fact—it is probable enough that 1861 may see the Austrian empire dissolve into its company see the Austrian empire dissolve into

THE PRO-SLAVERY REBELLION.

THE PERILS OF WASHINGTON.

From Our Special Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10, 1861. I wrote you on the 5th inst. at length, stating fully the perils which surround this capital What I then said receives ample confirmation with the lapse of time. Acts of war for its de fense march gradually and surely upon us, and it looks now as though a few weeks would bring them here. Everything depends, as I have be fore said, upon the action of Maryland, or her presumed action. If that State goes with the secessionists this city will be claimed by them, and a struggle be early initiated to obtain pos session of it. The most pertinacious and persever ing efforts are being made to drive that State isto the gulf of disunion. Resistance has been made by the Governor in refusing to call the legislature together, so that a popular convention can be called to consider the subject. Other conservative interests have been hard at work for the same object. Distinguished gentlemen have, by written and spoken appeals, in public and private, tried to put a stop to the movement for convention, which is looked upon, and is meant, as a secession step. But it seems now without avail. Regularly or irregularly, the convention will be held. A decided majority of the members of both branches of the Legislature have agreed to call their several bodies together. When they meet, or so many of them as may choose, may meet, the convention will be ordered; and, if things go in Maryland as they go almost everywhere else, that convention will be a secession convention. And if it be so there must come war to hold Washington. Such are the regular logical steps of this revolutionary drama.

Now, as I have said, it behoves the Free States to look this thing in the face. It is of no use to disguise the fact that there is a strong probability, amounting almost to a certainty, that they must make up their minds to surrender this capital, or fight to preserve it. It is almost one hundred miles within the slaveholding country. A large slaveholding city of 200,000 inhabitants lies between it and the Free State line. It certainly is not large enough to defend itself, however well disposed. But it has no such purpose or choice, except so far as it is influenced to be on the winning side. Uncle Sam being considered the strongest party, the city is to-day nominally a Union city. It would become a divided city, were its capture by the slaveholding States to prove imminent. Its support and defense in an ttack is therefore mainly to be found in United States troops. But a combined military effort would easily overpower all that could be mustered from the feeble and fragmentary national forces within reach Its defense and preservation, therefore, in the long run, depend entirely on a volunteer force to be mustered and brought into the field from the Free States.

Now the point of this, as of my previous let-

ter, is, that in view of existing circumstances, the Free States ought to move. They ought to make military preparations. They ought to get ready to succor and defend the National capital. The National Executive cannot call upon the States. Neither can the military department. They must go to Congress. But Congress is filled with revolutionists, who are ready and able, by obstructive measures, to protect their own treason. If the States are to do anything, therefore, they must do it of their own motion. 1 throw out the general considerations applicable to the case, and every man can weigh them, each for himself. The facts are simple. and the reasoning simple. Everybody can understand them, and ought to be able to judge of their force. All ought to remember the are rapid in revolutionary times, and that the present movements of the Slave States are being made with the utmost celerity, in order to give action. In this lurks a great danger. Let the Free States be as slow as the Slave States are fast, and they will soon find themselves altogether behind time.

FROM GEORGIA.

From Our Special Correspondent.
SAVANNAH, Ga., Jan. 7, 1861. Nearly a hundred more men have been sent lown to "protect" Fort Pulaski; arms extraordinary have been given the troops by order of the Governor, whose "spirit" and "patriotism are leadly commended by those whose game he plays, and whose unscrupulous tool he has become. The purpose for which these troops were sent to take the fort, according to the Governor's ples, seems now to be quite forgotten. The men are armed as against a pow erful foe; they are doing the best that their lim ited knowledge of the art of war will permit to make the place they hold impregnable. Toey boast now that they are ready for any force the sea may bring. Bearing in mind that the fort was seized "lest the enraged people" should take it. does it not seem a little strange to find that the enemy against which the property is to be "protected" is looked for by sea. What army is expected? Clearly not any foreign force; for the Government would not so long have left the place ungarrisoned. Is it possible, Governor Brown, patriotic protector of the public property, that your noble soldiers expect the troops of their own country, and that, expecting them, they mean to receive them with cannons, breech-loading carbines, revolvers, and

Now that the deed is done, and that the excitement attending the seizure has subsided, there is a slight reaction of feeling. Not among the perambulating buil-dogs of treason who infest railway station, wharf, and groggery. They are always full of whisky and ardor, and they haul up for fuel almost as often as a locomotive ensine on a Southern railroad. But there are large number of people who think of the future, at least occasionally. When you find a merchant who has nothing to do except to look out of his shop and see the crowd pass by; now and then, it may be, when trade is unusually brisk, selling a paper of pins or cutting off some "samples" of chesp calico for a wandering possible customer to take home and examine-this man, I say, has time, place, and inclination for reflection; and he is the type of a great class engaged in divers callings. He sees himself close upon ruin. He will no longer sell on credit, and no one will buy for money, because no one has any wherewith to buy. He sees that total bankruptcy will inevitably come; that result he expects, has long expected, is resigned to the accident. He has had a vague hope that when Secession should

be decided on by the people in solemn Conven-

tion, it would be peaceably allowed by the General Government, and that trade would revive, harmony once more reign. Now, however, he is compelled to acknowledge that he and those who have, with him, trusted in the honesty of the men who led them, have been deceived. He sees that the pretended waiting for the issue of the Convention was only a farce; treason, piracy, pillage, have been committed by the men who were loudest in denouncing the employment of force by the North, and an act has been done which ought to bring, and will undoubtedly bring, terrible war to his very door. Levies of men, forced taxation to support them, absolute ruin before every field, and in every warehouse confisgration, insurrection, all the ordinary evils of war added to others which modern history knows nothing of-thoughts like these troop through the mind of the man I have taken as the true type of a great class, as indeed he is. He will very likely be drunk this evening, and then he will hunger and thirst after warfare, and swagger about "our flag," the "Empire State of the South," &c. But he will think again to-morrow. and will very likely have a head ache beside. Therefore, if we walk about this town, not al-

lowing ourselves to be imposed on by the fanfaronade going on in the public places, we shall see sullenness and despondency, shall hear some calm regrets, some arguments against the course of the Governor, and not a few unmeasured curses upon such headlong and inexcusable action. If you were to take the testimony of the local papers as giving the whole truth, you would believe that even children cry for secession and piracy, and that aged men turn their bleared eyes to the flag of their "noble State," and request, like old Simeon, to be allowed to die in peace, baving seen this glorious day. But the papers lie with deliberate intention. They know that the State of Georgia, instead of bounding at the word secession, has to be spurred and beaten like an unwilling horse, and the Disunionists, whose organs they are, now believe that the only hope for their cause is in committing her to an act which will put her so far on the road out of the Union. that she will be as likely to go forward as to turn back. So, when the act is done, these organs play the same tune, swearing that every man, woman, and child in the South is radiant with joy, and that the only difficult thing to do is to hold the people back. They know they lie, While there is gloom and doubt in the minds of great numbers in the city, there are many more anxious hearts in the interior, away from the influence of the seaboard. But it may naturally be asked by the Northern man who is accustomed only to free speech and an unrestricted ballot, why, if there exists this conservative feeling, does it not have an effect upon the course of the State, why had it so little apparent effect upon the delegate election of Wednesday, for instance? The answer is very brief and easily given. The conservative men dare not express their views with force enough, and warmth enough, and frequently enough, to influence, as they wish, the masses of the people who are always waiting and ready to be influenced by the arguments of well-known men. They do not dare, said. This would be with many oaths denied by the disunionist, but it is not denied by the men of whom I speak, nor will it be by him who shall candidly travel about the State, nor can it be truthfully denied by any one. Now, let me tell you, as illustrating better

than anything else I can write, what a planter of more than average wealth said to me the other day, as we walked up and down the platform of a railway station, waiting for the arrival of the junction train. You must bear in mind hat he was a slaveholder. Southern by birth, by education, and in feeling, hating the Kepublican party with a terrible bitterness, calling them all Abelitionists, and Mr. Hamlin "a free negro;" he was a man of considerable importfrom the salutation of an aequaintance, a magistrate also. From his conversation in the cars I had discovered, however, that he was not a rabid Secessionist, if in favor of secession at all. As we waited, one of the noisy Disunionists, to be seen anywhere, was baranguing a knot of people, roaring for war, and cursing the Adminstration beartily; when we had reached the other end of the platform, and were alone, my companion said, quietly enough, but with a sort of weary irony: "That is a fair specimen of the teachers of the Southern people; no other teachers are now allowed. We have a good deal changed, la ely; I would not have believed, ten years ago, that the time would ever come when I could n't stand up in Georgia and say what I thought it best to say, at least free from personal peril, and that such a man as that, yonder, would ever represent the class which entirely controls the shifting people. I have certain decided opinions upon the policy of immediate secession, or of secession at any time. I have the right to hold such opinions; it is my duty to hold some decided views, situated as I am in my county. But I cannot come out openly, loudly, boldly, in defense of my opinions. with the desire to spread them. I should be in jured in my property-perhaps, probably indeed, in my own person; yes, I am ashamed to say, I believe I should be mobbed, that my buildings would be burned, and that I should be forced to leave the State. For, when a man once falls under the hand of the mob, though they only threaten him to-day, they will doubtless return to-morrow and burn his property, and the next cay they will bring a rope, with them, looking out along the way for a convenient tree with a

strong limb." I said to him: "Can it be that you do not exaggerate the danger of making your opinions known?" He replied: "I do not exaggerate. know what I am talking about. I am even now, at home, regarded with suspicion, because my views are well known, and some of my oldest acquaintances are shy of me. This is not so much because they fear the present consequences of acknowledging they know me, but they say it may prejudice them by and by." "Why, I can't tell you How is that?" better than to repeat what one of the fastest Secessionists said the other day about Stephens. 'Never mind,' said be. 'When the State goes out, and we are on our own book, these fellows have got to walk straight and keep quiet, or they'll walk into trouble."

I spoke then of the approaching election of delegates, asking if the freedom of the ballot was not allowed. He replied that he believed men were permitted to vote for whom they chose to vote: but the trouble was to have such candidates put up as they wanted to vote for. "See here." said he, "let us suppose we have a meeting to nominate candidates. There are to be resolutions adopted, and the meeting must express its views on the question of secession. But if there happen to be twenty or thirty such fellows as that one out there present, they will control the neeting, hinder the anti-secessionists from saying anything, and will rush through their resolutions and carrry their nominations just because no one could oppose them with safety. It is all very well to talk about boldness; but a mob is a mob, and no honor comes from maltreatment at their hands. So, don't you see we might about as well be forbidden to vote for whom we please as to be forbidden to nominate or advocate the nomination of whom we please? I have the right to vote for A., B., or C., on the 2d of January, if I choose; but neither of them is a candidate, and I am not allowed, a week before the 2d, to make a speech in favor of either of them." I asked my companion what would be the result of this State of things after the State had seceded. His reply deserves to be remembered. He said, "The result will be a tremendous emigration to the Free States."

THE RESIGNATION OF SECRETARY THOMP

The following is the President's letter accepting Sec-

The following is the President's letter accepting Secretary Thompson's resignation:

Washington, Jan. 3, 1861.

Sir: I have received and accepted your resignation, on yesterday, of the office of Secretary of the Interior. On Moncay evening, 31st December, 1869, I suspended the orders which had been issued by the War and Navy Departments to send the Brocklyn with resoforcements to Fort Sumter. Of this I informed you on the same evening. I stated to you my reason for this suspension, which you knew, from its nature, would be speedily removed. In consequence of your request, however, I promised that these orders should not be renewed "without being previously considered and decided in Cabinet." This promise was faithfully observed on my part. In order to carry it into effect I called a special Cabinet meeting on Wednesday, 2d January, 1861, in which the question of sending resinforcements to Fort Sumter was amply discussed by yourself and others. The decided majority of opinions was against you. At this moment, the answer of the South Carolina "Commissioners" to my communication to them of 31st December was received and read. It produced much indignation among the members of the Cabinet. After a further brief conversation, I employed the following language: "It is now all over, and resinforcements must be sent." Judge Black said, at the moment of my decision, that after this letter the Cabinet would be manimons, and I heard no dissenting voice. Indeed, the spirit and tone of the letter left no doubt on my mind that Fort Sumter would be immediately attacked, and hence the necessity of sending referiorcements there without delay.

While you admit "that on Wednesday, Jan. 2, this subject was again discussed in the Cabinet," you say, "but certainly no conclusion was reached, and the War Department was not justified in ordering referiors benefit the spirit and tone of the letter left no doubt on my mind that Fort Sumter would be immediately attacked, and hence the necessity of sending referorements there without delay.

LETTER FROM VICE-PRESIDENT BRECKIN-

LETTER FROM VICE-PRESIDENT BRECKINRIDGE.

WASHINGTON CITY, Jan. 6, 1861.

My Dran Sir: I think all thoughtful men will approve your conduct in convening the Legislature.

Within a few weeks, I have received many letters,
chiefly from Kentacky, asking my opinion as to the
prospect of a fair adjustment of our political troubles,
which I have not answered for reasons satisfactory to
my own mird, among which has been a lingering hope
that some acceptable plan of settlement might be proposed by Congress, securing the rights and honor of
all. I do not feel at liberty longer to remain silent,
and, without intending to borden you with an axtended letter. I will offer a few thoughts upon the condition of public affairs.

I am convinced that no thorough and satisfactory
plan will be proposed to the States by the Congress.

plan will be proposed to the States by the Congress.
All efforts for this purpose have disclosed differences too
radical to admit of agreement.
At an early day in the session, on the motion of a
Schator from Kentucky (Mr. Powell), a committee of

At an early day in the second, on the new of the country and report a remedy. It was composed of representative men from different parts of the Union. After long conferences, for many days, the Chairman reported to the Senate that they had been wholly unable to agree, and a reference to the journal of the committee will reveal the radical differences between the ablicans and others.

Republicans and others.

Propositions conceived in a spirit of patriotic concession were offered by Senator Crittenden. I refer to them because they concede much to the spirit of conciliation. They embrace the following as amendments

ciliation. They embrace the following as amendments to the Constitution:

That Congress shall have no power to abolish Slavery in the forts, dock-yards, and other places under its jurisdiction in the Senthern States.

Nor to prevent the transportation of slaves from one Slaveholding State to another, nor to any Territory where Slavery may exist, whether the transportation be constwise or inland.

Nor to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, while it exists in Maryland or Virginia, nor without the consent of the inhabitants, and compensation to the owners.

consent of the inhabitants, and compensation to the owners.

And in regard to the Territories:

That in all the Territory now held or hereafter to be acquired north of latitude 36° 30' Slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, shall be prohibited, while in all Territory now held or hereafter to be acquired south of said line of latitude, Slavery of the African race shall be recognized and protocted; in both cases, the prohibition on one side of the line, and the protection on the other, covering the period of Territorial existence.

These provisions, the resolutions propose, shall be made a part of the Constitution, and together with the features now in the Constitution relative to the representations.

sentures now in the Constitution, and together with the sentures now in the Constitution relative to the repre-sentation of three-fifths of the slaves, and the return of Engitive slaves, shall not be subject to future altera-tion. As subsequently modified, they contain, among other things, a very proper declaration that citizenship and suffrage shall not be conferred on persona in whole

other things, a very proper declaration that califerian pand suffrage shall not be conferred on persons in whole or in part of African descent.

A glance at these resolutions will show the immense concession they offer for security and peace. Leaving out of view for a moment the territorial question, the other proposed amendments are but declaratory of the present Constitution. Congress has no power now to alouish Slavery in the places within its jurisdiction in the Southern States, nor to prevent the transportation of slaves from one slaveholding State or Territory to another. Nor are persons of African descent citizens of the United States; and the basis of Federal representation and the return of fugitive slaves are stipulated for inexpress terms in the present instrument. If it be said that Congress may constitutionally abolish Slavery in this District, I will not pause to argue the question, but only enter a protest against the assumption.

If agreed to, they should be unamendable parts of the Constitution, since the North would soon have a rufficient number of States to change the instrument in the manner prescribed by itself.

remident number of States to change the instrument in it e manner prescribed by itself.

It must be confessed that it offers but a faint hope of security and good faith when powers not granted to Congress by the Constitution must again be expressly decied, and the provisions made unalterable, to guard against apprehensions of a sectional and growing

denied, and the provisions made unalicrable, to guard against apprehensions of a sectional and growing majority.

Upon these points, then, as I suppose, there is concertion neither upon the one side nor the other. The Yrce States are only asked to agree that they will mover use their growing power to deprive the South of existing rights, which are escential to its safety.

I come now to the vast concession to the North. The Southern States assert, with great unanimity, the right of all the citizens of all the States to enter the common Territories with their property, of whatever kind, including slaves, and to have it protected by the common Government. This right is sustained by a bigoly respectable class of opinion in the Northern States, and has been affirmed by the highest judicial tribunal known to the Constitution. It does not fall within the scope of this letter to reargue the question. I treat it as a settled right, upon which the argument has been exhausted.

Mr. Crittenden's territorial amendment offers, so far as the Southern States and their slave property are concerned, to yield this right in three-fourths of the existing Territory to save it in the remaining fourth. The citizens of the Northern States and their property are to be protected in all the Territory—the citizens of the Southern States with their property in one-fourth of it.

"Norm.—The language of Mr. Cristenden's resolution on this point may be liable to misconstruction, but I know that it was atsuided to embrace after-sequined Territory south of 20° 30°.

Frob ibition of slave property north of 36° 30'—recognition and protection to it south of that line—and the rule to apply to all territory bereafter acquired—this is the principle of the proposed amendment. And the last-named feature is vital. If the territorial question can be settled at all, it should be settled for all time, and locked up in the Constitution. Otherwise, there can be no hope of exemption from incessant Anti-Slavery agitation, and the country would soon be thrown again into the midst of political and financial convulsions. The Southern States cannot afford to be shut of from all possibly of expansion toward the trapics by the hestile action of the Federal Government. I am sure that this plan of only stiment has been offered, not as the full measure of our rights, but as a

convolvious. The Southern States cannot afford to be shut off from all possility of expansion toward the tripics by the hostile action of the Federal Government. I am sure that this plan of any stament has been offered, not as the fall measure of our rights, but as a patiotic concession, with the hope of obtaining promptly security and peace. In view of the knowledge we have of the progress of political Anti-Slavery opinion, and of the manner in which the Federal Government may be employed by hostile influences, it falls far short of what would be required in forming an original scheme of government, or even in reconstructing the old one. After the experience we have had of the practical working of the system. I find it difficult to cherish a well-grounded hope of permanent security except by the introduction of some element which would give the South the power of self-protection.

I cannot suppose that Kentucky would consider her rights, interests, and honor safe under any settlement less thorough than this proposed by Mr. Crittenden. Any attempt to emasculate it by excluding from its scope after-acquired territory, or by failing to recognize and protect slave property south of the line by larguage as clear and explicit as that employed to prohibit it north of the line, or by vailing its provisions in ambiguous phrases, could only result in new agitatic neuron and convulcions. I believe that Kentucky wants a thorough settlement or none, and one that any plain and honest mind can understand.

I have not referred to the Personal Liberty bills of the Northern States, because they are the subjects of State action; nor to various propositions concerning the right of solution and the plan of Mr. Crittenden. I have said that, in my opinion, no thorough and satisfactory amendments with slave property; nor to reveral schemes of constitutional amendment which dern and more for the South than the plan of Mr. Crittenden. I have said that, in my opinion, no thorough and satisfactory amendments will be proposed to the State Government property to the value of \$4,000,000,000 and which is interwoven with the very structure of society in nearly helf the States of the Union. They intend that the South shall never have any portion in the territory of the Union. Their fixed policy is to wield the Federal Government for Anti-Slavery purposes, and to crush all opposition by arms. I am not mistaken in the purposes of the resolute and controlling spirits of that organization at this capital.

At an early day in the se sion, a number of gentlemen, fearing that no suitable guaranties could be projected by Congress, began to look to the States and the jeogle. The Republicans having control of the Northern States, our triends there were, of course, unable to move. An earnest effort was made here to secure a Convention of all the Southern States. The secure a Convention of all the Southern States. The ple neodd not command the requisite support, and was lost in the rapid progress of events. Next, a more hopeful movement was set on foot, looking to an immediate conference of the border slaveholding States (embracing Tennessee and Nogth Carolina), with the view to units their counsels and avert the danger of civil war. But here, also, the obstacles proved in surmountable, and the time for such action has passed. Each of there States, therefore, must decide for itself the satisface it will occupy in this emergency.

The immediate question now presented is, peace or war. Whatler the right of a State or States to dissolve cor nection with the Federal system be a reserved civil, or one growing out of the Constitution, or the

solve cornection with the Federal system be a reserved right, or one growing out of the Constitution, or the right of revolution, the great fact lies before us, that the net has been done; and we are not permitted to doubt that in a few weeks seven or eight States, containing a larger pepulation than the thirteen Colonies at the epoch of the Revolution, will have withdrawn from the Union and declared their independence. Under whatever name disguised, a collision of arms with them will be war.

The dominant party here, rejecting everything, proposing nothing, are pure usg a policy which, under the name of "enforcing the I was" and "punishing traitors," threatens to plunge the country into all the calmittee of civil war.

Limities of civil war.

The Federal Union cannot be preserved by arms. The Federal Union cannot be preserved by arms. The attempt would unite the Southern States in resistance, while in the North a great multitude of true and loyel men never would concent to shed the blood of our people in the name and under the authority of a violated compact. A serious collision upon existing issues would destroy whatever hope may yet remain of preserving or restoring the Union. An attempt to hold it together by the bayonet would exceed anything yet recorded in the annals of human madness and folly. It would bring on a war of unexampled ferocity, in which every vital principle of the Union would disappear forever. If the South should succeed in maintaining her independence, the feuds and animosities engendered forever. If the South should succeed in maintaining her independence, the feuds and animosities engendered by the contest between the sections would be transmitted to succeeding generations, while, if she should be subjugated, the Government would become in form and in fact consolidated, and would soon reach the usual historical termination in a military despotism. But her subjugation is impossible without extermination—and that is in possible.

And yet the danger of civil war, is implicant under

that is in possible.

And yet the danger of civil war is imminent, unless it shall be arrested by prompt and energefic action. It, before the passions of men become aroused, and a series of untoward events drift us into strife, Kentucky and the other border States shall calmly and firmly present a united front against it, I believe it may be arrested. Fitteen States are potent to prevent war. This, too, would strengthen all the true men in the Northern States who resist the strocious policy. Upon this question, let us annihilate party. The force party believe that Kentucky and other Southern States are seriously divided on this subject. Unless this can be quickly shown to be a delusion, it may abecome the parent of a brood of woes.

prood of wees.

The wisdom of the Legislature will doubtless provide The wisdom of the Legislature will doubtless provide whatever is needful; yet at a time like this it becomes the duty, as it is the right, of every man to express his opinions; and as one citizen of the Commonwealth I give my voice for a State Convention. It is only by the direct action of the several States in their sovereign capacity that anything effectual can now be done; and, for one, I desire that Kentucky may have an opportunity to determine, in the most solemn manner, her judgment of her rights, and her attitude in the present condition of affairs. She has not been an inactive nor indition of affairs. She has not been an inactive nor in-glorious member of the Confederacy; she is in the pres-ence of great and startling events, and it is not her naglorious member of the Confederacy; she is in the presence of great and startling events, and it is not her nature to sit in listless apathy, borne along by rapid currents, without the power to direct her course. Let her have the opportunity, through her chosen Representatives, of deciding upon the prospect of reuniting all the States in a Constitutional Union, or, if that shall be impressible, let her be in a position to determine her consideration.

own destiny.

This letter has grown longer than I intended, although I have adhered pretty closely to my original purpose, rather to present facts, and my impressions of them, from this stand-point, than to enter upon elaborations. rate discussion. I need not say to you, my dear Sir, that I have uttered nothing in an obstrusive spirit, but rather reluctantly and sorrowfully. My suggestions in rather reluctantly and sorrowfully. My suggestions in regard to the action of Kentucky are offered in a spirit of loyalty to the State I love and will ever obey. They are clearly right, or very wrong. If right, the pleasure will be mine to have said a timely word; if wrong, I will know how to bear without a murmur all the concequences of an honest but terrible mistake.

Very slacerely your friend,
JOHN O. BRECKINRIDGE.

Hon. B. Magopfin, Governor of Kentucky.

BOTTS ON THE DUTY OF VIRGINIA. PERTINENT QUESTIONS TO THE BELL-EVERETT

Mr. J. M. Botts has addressed a long letter to The Alexandria Gazette, from which we take the following extracts:
"But let me say in advance that I am or

but let me say in advance that had no be to who have heretofore opposed the adoption of all platforms in Presidential elections as being worthless at beet, but, as in the general, calculated and designed to perpetrate a fraud and a cheat upon the people; nevertheless, I did believe that if one could be adopted which perpetrate a fraud and a cheat apon the people; nevertheless, I did believe that if one could be adopted which could not be misinterpreted, and respecting which no fraud could be practiced, it was that platform adopted by the Convention in Baltimore that nominated Measry. Itell and Everett, to wit: 'The Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws; more especially when at the time of its adoption, disunion and resistance to the laws was threatened on all sides, if a Republican candidate should be elected; and still more especially when it was known that each of the candidates selected to be put on that platform had voted in 1853 for the Force bill, thus recognizing the obligation on the part of the Federal Executive to enforce the execution of all laws, even in a State that by ordinance in Convention had declared herself out of the Union. Now, then, for the questions I propose:

"Question 1. Did you approve the conduct of Mr. Fillm ore's administration, when he sent federal troops into Boston to enforce the execution of the Fugitive Slave law in the case of Anthony Burns?

"Question 2. Are you now in favor of all the powers of the Government being exercised for the purpose of enforcing the provisions of that law?

"Question 3. Are you in favor of the equality of the State?

"And if these questions are answered in the affirmative, as I presume they will be, I put as "Question 4. How, and upon what principle, do you make the distinction between executing one law by force in Massachusetts, and, at the same time, propose to incur the penalty of treason and introduce civil war into our midst, by resisting the same process for the execution of other laws in South Carolina?

"And I will tell you in advance that it will not do for you to put yourself on the ground assumed by some, that there is a difference between using force in a State that has declared hers if out of the Union, and one that has taken no such ground, because you and those of our party who profess to concur with you, utterly and wholly deny that any State has the right to declare herself out of the Union, except on the ground of revolution; and I suppose none of you will deny the right of any and all Governments to put down revolution, and that if not successful, that revolution is treason.

"Question 5. Did not you and those whose course you uphold in a contemplated resistance to the authorities of the General Government, if it should find it necessary to resort to force in order to execute the laws, adopt the platform of our party, together with the candidates who planted themselves on that platform in good faith, and with an honest purpose to act in accordance with its professions?

"Question 6. Did not you and they recommend to the people of this State the support of our candidates, upon the ground of their superior nationality, because they were known to be in favor of the Ponstrution, and the enforcement of the laws?

"Question 7. If you and they were for six months engaged in urging the people of Virginia to the support of this platform and its candidates, will you inform me now what Union it was you were for preserving, what Constitution it was you were for preserving, what Constitution it was you were for preserving. According to your understanding, and those who concern with you in your present position.

you inform me now what Union it was you were for preserving, what Constitution it was you were for preserving, and what laws you were for enforcing?

"Question 8. According to your understanding, and those who concur with you in your present position, was our platform also a delusion and a cheat, or did we not earnestly and honestly ledge ourselves to each other and to the world that we would contend to the last for the perpetuation of the Union of the thirty-three States, composing the Confederacy which was formed by our fathers? was it not the supremacy of the Constitution which authorizes the use of force to execute the laws, suppress insurrection and repel invasion? and was it not the enforcement of all laws upon the statute book? or was it only certain selected laws in certain selected localities that you were for enforcing?

Question 9. If it was your intention only to execute such laws in the Southern States as Southern interests might demand, do you think it was in accordance with principles of fairness and common houesty that you should have asked our friends at the North to mite with us on the general platform, without informing them that you were for using force to execute laws among them, but that they should not be allowed to use force to execute the laws among ourselves.

Question 10. After having prevailed on 74,524 voters of Virginia to stand by you in your recommendation to uphold the Union, to protect the Constitution, and to enforce the laws—and since by their votes the State was carried for John Bell and Edward Everett, do you think you are at liberty now to abandon these 74,500 men, a very large majority of whom are not slaveholders, and tell them that the Union which our fathers established is not worth contending for—that the Constitution is a toy and a plaything for the sport of folly, and pa sion, and recentment; and that the laws must not be enforced upon any Southern State that may choose to set itself up in defiance of all law and all constitutional authority?

"Question 11. Do you t

property is not endangered; and do you not think the experiment is a hazardous one to the slaveholding interests of this State!

"Question 12. Don't you think, as South Carolina is the only State that has taken steps from which war is likely to result, that hers is the soil upon which the war (if any comes) should be conducted, and that our women and children should not be subjected to the hearthstones of Virginia?

"Question 13. In this view of the subject, don't you think it would be more becoming and more chivalitie on the part of those who think South Carolina is justified in her present position, and who recommend resistance to the General Government if the President of the United States should feel that the obligations of his oath required him to execute the laws and 'suppress insurrection,' should volunteer their services to South Carolina, go down there, and make that the scene of their heroism and renown, instead of stirring up the worst passions of our nature, and dragging those into the difficulty who not do believe South Carolina is justified in what she has done, and who have no sympathy with the bot haste with which she has acted, and the insul ing manner in which she has acted, and the insul ing manner in which she has acted, and the insul ing manner in which she has acted, and the insul ing manner in which she has acted, and the insul ing manner in which she has acted, and the insul ing manner in which she has acted, and the insul ing manner in which she has acted, and the insul ing manner in which she has acted, and the insul ing manner in which she has acted, and the insul ing manner in which she has acted, and the insul ing manner in which she has acted, and the insul ing manner in which she has acted, and the insul ing manner in which she has a part in the Italian war, ongot they not to assume an individual responsibility, and should they assume an individual responsibility, and should they

to take a part in the Italian war, ought they not to assume an individual responsibility, and should they not seek the plains of Italy for a display of their valor,

test?

"Question 15. Finally, do you think you have a right to find fault with and complain of us, who stood by you in the late contest, in favor of 'The Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws,' and still stand faithful to our professions and our principles because we cannot stull ify ourselves as we think we should, by now declaring we will let the Union slite, the Constitution be trodden down, and the laws violated with impunity!"

ated with impunity MINOR ITEMS.

PLOTTED FULL A YEAR AGO. A correspondent, writing to us from Baltimore

says:

"I have recently come to the knowledge of an in cident, that proves how wide-spread and predeterminadwas the compilacy for overthrowing our Federal Government. It is this: An officer of the U. S. Army met a Tennessee friend in Paris last Fall, and, to his surprise, found him a resident of that sity. On inquiry, his friend told him that he encountered in Genoa last Spring a South Carolinian, with whom he had the most intimate relations, and learned from him of the existence of an actual plot for disrupting the American Union. The Tennesse can forthwith returned home, and verified the information of the South Carolinian, whereupon he sold all his slaves, for he was an extensive cotton planter, and all his lands, and, with his family, emigrated to France, where he intends to spend the remainder of his days, having invested his fortune in the European funds!" European funds

SEIZURE OF THE UNITED STATES ARSENAL AT

European funds!"

SEIZURE OF THE UNITED STATES ARSENAL AT MOUNT VERNON, AND OF FORT MORGAN.

It is a remarkable fact that although the Arsenal is situated only 28 miles from the city, and the object of the expedition was bruited about several hours before its departure, Capt. Rene, in charge of the Arsenal, was taken by surprise. Having but a handful of men at his command, and without the faintest prospect of reinforcement or retreat, it would have been not only feelhardy but clininal in that gallant officer to offer resistance. All the dispositions were, however, taken against even the possibility of such an attempt. The grounds covered by the Arsenal comprise some 35 acres, and are inclosed by a wall 14 feet high. Yet the Guard Lafayette, detached as a scaling party to the rear, were within the wall as soon, it not earlier, than any of the other detachments. With regular Zouave agility, mest of them, not waiting to apply the ladders inside, leaped from the 14-feet wall, while the other detachment forced the gates. Had there been a strong defensive force, they could have made no effectual relistance, so sudden was the surprise, and so rapid the whole movement. In the Arsenal were found 20,000 stand c farms, 1,500 barrels of powder 150,000 pound-1, some pieces of cannon, and a large smunt of other munitions of war. A few hours after the capture, the expedition, with the exception of the Washington Light Infinitry, Capt. Gracie, who are in charge, were on their way back to the city. Capt. Reno and the other occupants of the Arsenal, and their families, were left undisturbed, on the parole of the captain that no hostile demonstration would be attempted.

[Mobil. agists, Jac. 6]

THE HURRY BEFORE LINCOLN GETS IN.

THE HURRY BEFORE LINCOLN GETS IN.
Commenting on the above seizure of the arsenal and fort, The Mobile Advertiser says:

"The worst has been dared and is looked squarely in the face; the alternative is to be desired and hoped—and may be, we think, with reason. Let every patriot, North and South, devote hime if to the end that our accounts with the Federal Government be squared, before its powers pass into the hands of the next alministration. Before the end of the month the Comministration. Before the end of the month the Comministration. Before the end of the month the Comministration, and so of the next alministration, and it must decide which shall be transmitted to its successor."

WHAT THEY DO AT FORT MORGAN.

It is no holiday work for the sprace Mobile soldiery, this occupation of Fert Morgan. They are laboriously